

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 5343

LIMDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL FROM CHARGE TANGUY

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-79

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NL

SUBJECT: NATOMIN DEC 73: SECRETARY'S BILATERAL WITH DUTCH FONMIN

REF: USNATO 5862

1. HOLLAND'S OIL SUPPLY WILL BE UPPERMOST IN FONMIN'S MIND WHEN HE MEETS WITH THE SECRETARY. THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE AND SHOULD CAUSE US NO PROBLEMS SINCE THE US TOOK THE INITIATIVE MORE THAN A MONTH AGO TO INDICATE TO THE DUTCH THAT WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER HOW WE COULD BE HELPFUL. THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT UNDER SECRETARY DONALDSON WILL HAVE CONTINGENCY TALKS IN THE HAGUE LATER THIS MONTH PROVIDED A CONCRETE REASSURANCE TO THE GON DURING THIS PERIOD OF SEVERE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL STRAIN.

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2. WE SUPPOSE THAT THE SECRETARY WILL WANT TO BROADEN THE DIALOGUE WITH VAN DER STOEL (TO WHICH VAN LYNDEN TOLD US HIS MINISTER IS VERY MUCH LOOKING FORWARD) TO REEMPHASIZE THAT THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT IS NOT JUST BETWEEN THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS BUT CREATES AN INESCAPABLE CHALLENGE TO THE SOLIDARITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE NATO ALLIANCE. THE DUTCH UNDERSTOOD THIS BETTER THAN SOME OF OUR ALLIES BUT THEY LIKE THE OTHERS HAVE TENDED TO LOSE SIGHT OF THIS BASIC FACT ONCE THE THREAT OF DIRECT SOVIET INTERVENTION APPEARED TO SUBSIDE. FURTHERMORE, EVER SINCE THE DUTCH WERE SIGNLED OUT FOR DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT BY THE ARABS THE GON HAS BEEN DEALING WITH THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THE CONFLICT PRIMARILY THROUGH THE EC-9 AND ITS BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE US.

3. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL, IN OUR JUDGMENT, IF THE SECRETARY SHARPENED VAN DER STOEL'S FOCUS ON THE STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE CONFLICT AND AT THE SAME TIME ASSURED HIM THAT THERE IS NOT RPT NO CONFLICT BETWEEN THE NETHERLANDS' MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC AND THE CONTINUATION OF A RESPONSIBLE POLICY ON THE MIDDLE EAST AS A LOYAL MEMBER OF NATO. THE LINE WE HAVE BEEN TAKING WITH THE DUTCH IS THAT IT IS NOT THE DUTCH WHO HAVE BROKEN SOLIDARITY WITH THEIR EC PARTNERS BUT RATHER THE OTHERS WHO HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO RESPOND TO THE NETHERLANDS' LEGITIMATE APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE ON A PROBLEM WHICH AFFECTS ALL MEMBERS OF THE PARTNERSHIP. WE HAVE ALSO ASSURED THE DUTCH THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT RPT NOT TRYING TO WEAKEN THE GON'S SUPPORT FOR THE EC NOR UNDERMINE EUROPEAN UNITY. HOWEVER WE HAVE SAID QUITE FRANKLY, IN RESPONDING TO INQUIRIES, THAT THE EC DECLARATION OF NOV 6 AND SOME OF THE STATEMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBER COUNTRIES HAVE NOT, IN OUR JUDGMENT, BEEN PARTICULARLY HELPFUL IN CREATING THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR A BALANCED AND LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT.

4. WE BELIEVE THAT VAN DER STOEL'S OWN INSTINCTS ARE RIGHT ON THE STRATEGIC NATURE OF THE CONFLICT AND THE KIND OF UNIFIED ALLIED RESPONSE IT CALLS FOR. WE ALSO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT SOME OF HIS ADVISERS IN THE FONOFF ARE PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH THE DISRUPTIVE EFFECTS OF THE OIL CRISIS ON EC SOLIDARITY AND THE NETHERLANDS' RESULTANT ISOLATION. THIS ACCOUNTS FOR THE SEMANTIC STEPS WHICH THE GON HAS TAKEN TOWARD MAKING ITS PUBLIC POLSITION MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE ARABS. BUT DOMESTIC POLITICAL REALITIES PLACE DEFINITE LIMITS ON THIS ESSENTIALLY FUTILE PROCESS (THE

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HAGUE 5332). IT WOULD BE GOOD TO MAKE CLEAR FOR VAN DER STOEL THAT THE CHOICE FOR THE NETHERLANDS IS NOT BETWEEN SOLIDARITY WITH THE EC OR SOLIDARITY WITH NATO AND THE US. RATHER THE CHOICE IS BETWEEN A RESPONSIBLE POLICY THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST OR A POLICY OF APPEASEMENT THAT WILL DELAY IF NOT FRUSTRATE A LASTING SETTLEMENT AND THUS AN END TO THE OIL BOYCOTT.
TANGUY

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